Gandhiji's Birthday

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

16 Pages

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII. No. 27 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1948 TWO ANNAS

MAKING SWARAJ SUCCESSFUL

[Speaking at a public meeting on the Independence Day at Indore, Shri Vinoba made the following observations. —D. M.]

India had attained political power. That only meant that she had now obtained those facilities, which were not available to her before, for removing poverty from the land and rendering service to the people. When Rama went in exile for 14 years, Bharata governed the State on his behalf and as a trustee for him. In the same way the administrators of India should understand that this country belonged to the poor masses and they had to administer her affairs in their name as their trustees and for their benefit. The sun of independence must furnish to the people the proof of its rise by showing that the State now worked for them; and that the educated man who formerly avoided them or came to them simply in order to exploit them, had now engaged himself in their service. The people could not feel that Swaraj had come to them simply by looking at the flag flying against the background of the sky. They must feel its warmth. Even as the sun did not cast its brilliant and energizing rays only on the palace of the Maharaja but distributed them equally to the houses of the poor and the low, even so the light and warmth of Swaraj must reach every man in the country.

It was inevitable, Shri Vinoba continued, that in so large a country like ours there should be differences of opinion giving rise to different parties. But he would ask them all whether there was also not something on which all of them could agree, something which was common to them all. Let us find out that common factor, take it up and render service to the country on at least that programme. That might lead to the resolution of other differences also in course of time. Laying emphasis on differences only would create more differences and give rise to competition for acquisition of power. The result would be that even though we had obtained Swaraj, we would not have the joy of feeling it.

Shri Vinoba desired to emphasize one more thing also. Everyone must do something for actual production of food and cloth. They all believed that there was deficit of food and cloth in the country. Let them then, as has been said in the *Upanishads*, pledge to produce them. If everyone, including lawyers, doctors, professors, merchants, judges, students and other men of letters, produced something of these every day, they could gradually expel poverty from the land. Gandhiji had placed the charkha before the country for that very purpose. Cloth was an article of universal necessity and spinning was a productive activity in which every one could take part. The principle behind the emphasis on the charkha lay in its capacity to produce one of the most necessary items of human needs.

The *Gita* had taught the way to approach God through karma (action). But we did not understand its full implication. Indian philosophers had not given it their full attention. Some resorted to *bhakti* (or devotional actions) and some to *dhyana* (concentration). The *dhyanis*, again, occupied themselves with thinking. Nobody realized that since everyone wanted food every day, it was necessary for them to do something towards its production. The pursuit of that activity in the proper spirit could do three things simultaneously, namely reduce the burden of the labourer, be an offering to God and also purify one's mind.

Personally Shri Vinoba had obtained much inspiration through understanding the *Gita* in that sense. In the middle ages labour had been deprived of its dignity. Artisans began to be considered low castes and untouchables. Manu had said: सदाशुचिः कारुहस्तः — "the hands of a labourer are always pure." But we forgot that advice and began to forsake all manual labour. The *sannyasi* gave up labour, so also the student, and the devotee too! Thus the burden of those who did manual labour increased, and they and their vocations were deprived of the respect and prestige due to them. If they wanted to make the country prosperous, they must raise the dignity of labour and also its market value. The difference in the wages of the carpenter, the professor and the judge must be removed. Just as the sun gave equal light to all and the moon spread her cool lustre equally on every one, so also should the means of subsistence be available to all in an equal measure.

Some people asked him how those who did higher type of work could maintain their position and prestige, if all were made equal. Shri Vinoba asked them if any of them had rendered higher service to the world than Krishna. Krishna had given to the world the highest philosophy of life, and yet what was he? He worked amongst cow-herds, grazed cattle, tended horses, washed dishes at the sacrifice of Yudhishthira. The *kisans* of India did not know the *Gita*, and yet for the last five thousand years, they regularly raised the cry of *Gopal Krishnaki Jai* (Victory to Gopal Krishna!) every year. How could this have occurred? It was because Gopal Krishna did not only teach philosophy to pandits and politics to kings, but also raised the value of physical labour. Shri Vinoba exhorted

every one to resolve from the 15th of August to do some productive labour every day. That alone would bring positive proof to them that India was on the way to prosperity.

(*Abridged from the original in Hindustani*)

VANASPATI AND OIL

I have received a few letters thanking the *Harijan* for taking up the cause of pure ghee. The following is a typical letter from a representative of the agriculturist class:

> " *Vanaspati* has been ruining the country in various ways. It is degenerating the people morally with the sin of adulteration. It has become extremely difficult to obtain true ghee and to place reliance upon anything shown to us as such. It will be a great service to the country, if you will pursue this subject until you succeed, and exert all your influence to stop its production. It does not matter even if there is scarcity of ghee for a time. In this cunning world of ours, it will not be enough to take such measures as colourization and the like. It is necessary to prevent its manufacture altogether, so that people can get more oil, and the fraud on ghee might stop.
>
> " At the same time you will please also exert to get a law enacted for preventing the slaughter of milch animals and to encourage cow-breeding for cows are ultimately the source of milk and ghee and the mainstay of agriculture. Thereby the dearth of pure ghee would be more quickly removed.
>
> " I pray to God to give success to your efforts, so that manufacture of pure ghee may become possible and the people may feel the joy of having acquired Swaraj. "

I agree generally with the views of the writer but at the same time it is necessary to understand fully the difficulties lying in the way. On account of these difficulties even Gandhiji could not succeed in this matter. I count nothing before him. The main question is a moral one. But where morality and economic interests conflict, in a civilization in which industrialization plays the senior partner's role, there is always an attempt to brush aside the ethical issue by advancing counter-arguments or trying to meet it with half-hearted measures. There is every possibility of this happening in the case of *vanaspati*.

One of the arguments advanced by *vanaspati* producers is that ghee did not begin to be an adulterated commodity only since the manufacture of *vanaspati*. Formerly it used to be adulterated for purposes of trade with fat and other filthy materials. *Vanaspati* has, even if it has encouraged adulteration, provided a substance which is several times superior to the former adulterants. Of course, these arguments are spurious and meant only to justify what is unjustifiable at the root. It is like a milk-seller saying to the public, " True, I mix some water in my milk. But I want to assure the public that I always put in it pure distilled water, and not any dirty liquid which the common milkman does. I am prepared to provide distilled water for this purpose to all those who need it."

Another argument is that if, for instance, people prefer neatly packed white-paper cigarettes instead of ordinary *bidis*, and are prepared to pay for it, is it wrong to allow them that satisfaction? In the same way if people want the refined oil in a granulated hardened form, and if experts prove that no harm accrues to their health in taking it in that form, why should you object to its manufacture? You must be satisfied with some measures which will check its adulteration with ghee. If you will, let the penalty on adulterators be very heavy. Let experts and inspectors be vigilent and the buyers more watchful, and rest satisfied with these. In an imperfect world of ours it is too much to expect prevention of all fraud. You must not kill a thriving industry simply because you cannot fully control its abuse.

This too is no argument in justification of the industry. But, yet, as matters stand, there is every likelihood of their prevailing with the authorities.

Even oils are not free from the evil of adulteration. I understand that deodorized white oil (i. e. kerosene) is mixed with ground-nut and other food oils. A writer from far off Pakistan complains that mustard oil, the usual article of food in Bengal, is mixed with a substance called *batch* oil, with the result that people suffer from boils and liver troubles.

The fact of facts is that the moral character of all of us — agriculturists, cattle-keepers, middlemen, industrialists, scientists, and public servants — must considerably advance before any measure whatever can succeed. I have no faith in mere penal laws. Strong public opinion is always more potent than law.

Let the public and workers take this as a reason for putting in all their effort to raise the moral level of the people. The conscience of the people engaged in the production and sale of edible substances must be appealed to to take a vow of not adding any adulterant, whether *vanaspati* or any other. A law becomes successful when it is broken by only a handful of asocial men but is obeyed generally. No law which is widely disregarded in practice can ever succeed.

Wardha, 25-8-'48 K. G. Mashruwala

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI
By Nirmal Kumar Bose
With a Foreword by Gandhiji
Price *Rs. Four* Postage etc. *As. Ten*

THE NATION'S VOICE
(Second Edition)
[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sjt. Mahadev Desai's account of the sojourn — September to December 1931]
Edited by
C. Rajagopalachar and *J. C. Kumarappa*
Price *Rs. Three* Postage etc. *As. Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

THE ROMANCE OF CO-OPERATION

In these days when Dictators and so-called Democrats stalk the entire world with weapons of destruction to annihilate the common man, it is both a consolation and a solace to rehearse a brilliant chapter from the history of Denmark. Mutely but marvellously this little country of hardly thirtysix lacs of souls has evolved a group life through co-operation which is at once a challenge to Fascism and Socialism.

Prior to the Nepoleanic wars Denmark was a nation of substantial importance. Unluckily she sided with the French warrior and lost heavily as a consequence of his overthrow. It was at this time that she lost some of her valuable colonies. America rose as her competitor in the market and Germany closed her doors by a protective tariff. This entirely dislocated her trade. In its wake came floods and draughts, epidemics and plagues which rendered the country prostrate and collapsed.

But happily the tide began to turn in the seventies. It started with new ideas of education. Bishop Grundtvig (1783-1872), who is known as the spiritual father of Denmark, started the People's High Schools. His education was a sort of *Nayee Talim* for his country and was related to the farm and cattle of the Danish farmer. Kold, his brilliant successor, completed the work of his master and organized the entire nation for the unique experiment of co-operation.

Denmark is an agricultural country and its farmer, therefore, instinctively turns to land and cattle for new life. Indeed, the Danish cow, the giver of plenty, gave the whole nation a new message and a new method of life. The Danish peasant took to dairying, butter and cheese making, raising of hogs and fowls and production of bacon; and through persevering attention to details and by establishment of co-operative marketing and buying agencies he gradually won an uncontested place in the market of England.

The details of co-operation may briefly be noted. It is so naturally woven into the life of the farmer! Through co-operation he performs for himself almost all functions that in other countries are done by others for him. He assembles his milk and makes and markets his own butter and cheese. He kills his own hogs in his own abattoirs and sells them in London through his own export agency. His agents collect his eggs and bring them to his own egg-export society where they are candled, graded and made ready for shipment to a foreign market.

Co-operatively he buys food for his cattle as well as agricultural machinery, fertilizers and seeds in distant lands. He manages his own banking in his locality and establishes his own credit. Through mutual societies he insures his house and live stock. He maintains breeding societies of pedigreed hogs, cattle and horses and controls societies for selling off his products. Fifty years ago the Danish farmer was enveloped by middlemen and the consumers and had to market through hostile agencies. Today he is, besides being a farmer, a manufacturer, a merchant, and an exporter all in one. In this way there is scarcely an activity or an agricultural need which is not represented by its own co-operative organization. It is, therefore, usual for the farmer to be a member of at least half a dozen co-operative societies covering the whole range of his needs. The work is managed so wonderfully that Danish bacon is shipped to England in modern motor ships fitted out with cold storage facilities and 'Lur' brand bacon is a favourite breakfast dish in every English home. In like manner Danish butter too is a world-famous article. Encouraged by this success, the farmer has extended his co-operation to the manufacture of roasting coffee, chocolate, tobacco, bicycles etc.

The co-operative movement is so pervasive that it is hardly less than an industrial system comparable to socialism. The following figures (1933) will enlighten the readers regarding the extent to which the co-operative societies have pervaded the entire nation:

	Societies	Members
Societies for production and sale	2,189	4,31,141
Societies for purchase	2,841	1,52,875
Consumer Co-operatives	1,824	3,35,900
Other Co-operatives	6	7,49,946
	6,860	16,69,862

It is hardly necessary to say that the farmer had to fight stern opposition from private dealers who sought to kill co-operation in its infancy by paying increased prices to the farmer to destroy their loyalty to the co-operatives. Private merchants imposed monopoly prices. But the farmer defied the trap.

* * * *

The co-operatives besides being an economic solvent, served as a training school for democracy. In most co-operatives the rule of 'one man, one vote' prevails, no matter how much the share of the member. This has made the farmer conscious of his importance and power in politics. He entered Parliament and negotiated changes in the interest of the common man. Gradually he managed to eliminate big landlordism and to grow small farmsteads with State aid. In this conversion of the farmer into an owner we have an economic foundation of Danish democracy. It is interesting to note his progress from tenancy to ownership:

	Tenants	Free Owners
1850	42.5%	57.5%
1919	5.7%	94.3%

Big landlords are known as Gaardmaends an the small ones as Husmaends. Till 1900 Gaardmaends were in the majority in the Danish Parliament. Since then Husmaends became the power. They have joined hands with the workers and artisans

and have risen as Social Democrats who now rule the country.

This is the marvel wrought by the Danish farmer on the strength of co-operation. There was no revolution and no appeal to force. All this has been achieved in little more than the lifetime of a single generation without bloodshed. The nation has trusted its liberties without reservation to the will of the majority. Is this not non-violent rule in a way? Can we not evolve in terms of Gandhiji's teachings some such co-operative method to nullify the present diabolical animosities and to stabilize our hard-earned freedom?

R. S.

HARIJAN

September 5 1948

GANDHIJI'S BIRTHDAY

I do not know, why it became necessary to discuss whether Gandhiji's birthday should be observed or not as usual. I had taken it for granted.

Gandhiji came in the line of the great World Masters and Ideal-setters, like Rama, Krishna, Buddha, Mahavir, Jesus, Zarthushtra, Socrates, Confucious, Mohammed and others. In India and, I think, all over the world, it is the birthday of great men which is regarded more significant than the date of their death. Their birth announced the beginning of a new era. Their deaths have been looked upon as tragedies, even when the dates have been annually observed. As a matter of fact the dates of death of several great masters are not known at all.

It is otherwise with ordinary people. In India, only a handful of people care to observe their or their children's dates of birth, marriage etc. A majority do not have even a record of these events. As Gandhiji has written about himself, it was not usual in his family to observe the birthday. Shri Kasturba's date of birth is still perhaps a matter requiring investigation. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's birthday had to be found out from his school registers. He himself did not remember it. The reason is that the importance of the birth of a human being is not prima facie assumed. It has to be proved by him by his life and works. If it is worthy, people will take pains to find out the date. If it is unascertainable, they will even assign an imaginary date to him.

But, if not the whole world, near relations try to remember for some years the date of death of their ancestors and observe it with ceremonial rites. A satirist says that it is in the fitness of things that the world makes this distinction between a great man and an ordinary man. The former saved the world by his birth, and plunged it in sorrow when he died. The latter created a burden upon the world by being born, and relieved himself and the world by dying. And if he left effects for his children, they must all the more feel grateful to him for dying. Though, therefore, they might feel sad for a while, there is an inner urge to rejoice over his death, and so it is natural that his anniversary should be observed with ceremony and sweetmeats. He might have been vain enough to celebrate his own birthday while he was alive, but his children cannot go on doing so after him.

Who can doubt the significance of the birthday and the deathday of Gandhiji? If in course of time, between the two dates only one has to be nationally observed, I for one, have no doubt that it should be the birthday and not the other.

With his instinctive wisdom, Gandhiji gave his birthday a unique orientation. He associated it with the *charkha*, in his opinion, his best and most invaluable gift to India and the down-trodden humanity. Until we understandingly take that gift, all the homage that we might pay to him whether on his birthday or anniversary, will have been superficial. Shri Dhirendra Majumdar, Gandhiji's successor in the Charkha Sangh, has rightly laid all his stress on the *charkha* in the observance of the Gandhi Week. I hope the public will catch the *charkha* spirit and respond to the appeal heartily.

Wardha, 21-8-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

SHRI BHANSALI'S FAST BROKEN

[As the public knows Shri Bhansali was on complete fast since 9th August. For 12 days he did not take even water. Necessarily it caused anxiety to all friends near and abroad. When Shri C. Rajagopalachari arrived at Sevagram yesterday, he was apprised of the fast and Shri Bhansali's desire to meet him. Shri Rajaji was unwilling to put Shri Bhansali to the trouble of going over to Sevagram to see him. Instead he immediately sent him the letter reproduced below. Shri Bhansali could not but honour the note by immediately fulfilling His Excellency's hope. He broke his nearly twenty days' fast after a brief service of prayer with orange juice. — K. G. M.]

Sevagram,
27-8-'48

My dear Bhansali,

I hope you will break your fast at once. I know you can go on and die cheerfully and you will all the time be feeling supremely happy. But it is not what you should do.

Many crimes have been committed during these last sad and tragic months, not the least by those who call themselves patriots and Hindus. You cannot pick and choose.

In the highest interests of our motherland I should ask you to break your fast. You require no "assurance" except that I ask you to do it, I believe the authority I possess covers this.

Yours affectionately
C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

GANDHIJI'S EVALUATION OF MAHADEV DESAI

[Long before Mahadev Desai and Narhari Parikh joined Gandhiji in 1917, they were already very intimate friends. The following letter written by Mahadev Desai to Narhari Parikh needs no apology for its publication now. I have translated it rather freely. —K. G. M.]

Bombay, 2nd September, 1917

My Dear Narhari,

This is entirely personal to you. Please do not share it with any one.

I have already informed you that I was regularly attending upon Gandhiji daily at his place of residence. On the morning of the 31st August Bapuji plunged me in an ocean of love, surprise and joy by the words he addressed to me. It is rather difficult to put down in words the short conversation of that day, but I shall try to do it as best as possible. "There is a reason for asking you to report yourself daily to me. (Ultimately) you are to come and stay with me. I have tested your worth during the last three days. I have found the young man whom I was in search of for the last two years. Will you believe it? I wanted someone to whom I could one day entrust all my work and rest in peace; one on whom I could lay myself down with a sense of relief. I have found that one in you. You have to prepare yourself for coming over to me, giving up the 'Home Rule' (League), Jamnadas[1] and all. I have spoken in this way to but a few people during my life. (In fact) only to three, namely Polak, Miss Schlesin and Maganlal. I have to address similar words to you today and I do so with joy, because I have markedly observed in you three virtues, namely honesty, and loyalty, along with keen intelligence. When I picked up Maganlal there was nothing special in him externally. But, do you not feel surprised at what Maganlal is today? He had not taken much of education. I made him my first apprentice for press work. He first learned to set Gujarati types; thereafter English, then Nagari, Tamil, etc. and began to set them in a very efficient manner. And I saw that he acquired all this skill in a very short time. Thereafter he has also shown his skill in various other types of work. But let me put away Maganlal's story. Maganlal has not that capacity which I see in you. I have been convinced that on account of your qualities, you will be useful to me in various fields of work." [I had been hearing all this with some surprise, some bashfulness and with absolute silence. But I could not resist interrupting him now, and said, "But I have not given you any proof of my work!" What follows hereafter was in answer to that.]

"How can you know that? I can assess the worth of a man in a very short time. I found out Polak's worth within five hours. Polak saw a letter of mine on . . . and sent me a reply and came to see me. Immediately I marked him out, and then he became mine. He married and became a solicitor while he was still with me. Before his marriage he told me that it was necessary for him to make some money to run the household and provide for his children. I told him definitely, "You are now mine. Your concern about yourself and your children is my concern. It is I who am marrying you and I do not see any objection to your marrying (immediately). Thereafter the marriage took place in my own house. But I must leave that story at that. What I want to tell you now is that you give up your plans about 'Home Rule' and Jamnadas,[1] go to Hyderabad, enjoy life for a year or so, see the world and its pleasures until you feel satiated. After going to Hyderabad, the day and the moment you feel that you are losing your individuality there, send in your resignation at once, and come and sit beside me immediately. (Upon this I told him that I was prepared to join him even at that moment.) I know you are ready but I press you to see the world and enjoy life for a while and be satiated with it. I shall also need your knowledge of the co-operative movement. We have to purge that department of its defects. Don't worry. Go away for a while and then return to me. I do not want you for the Ashram school or other work but for me personally. I shall carry on without you for a year or six months while you are away."

I was drinking this nectar for about half or three-fourths of an hour when people began to gather arround him and our private conversation came to an end. I have been going to him every day and I shall be going up to Palghar with him tonight. Having regard to such warm affection as he has shown, I do not think I would be doing anything wrong in sending with him fruits for Shankarbhai.[2]

I told him (Bapuji) this morning that Banker[3] was angry with me. "Why?" "Because of my determination made the day before yesterday." "Then you must bear his irritation. There is no alternative." Upon this I said, "His suggestion was that if I was not going to Hyderabad and staying on at Bombay, then he did not understand why Gandhiji should object to my joining the Home Rule League rather than the (Provincial Co-operative) Bank. I have told him (Banker) that he would be able to find another Organizer in lieu of me. But he says, 'No, it is not possible to find one like you.' My position is rather awkward. These people value my worth a good deal more than what I do myself." Upon this Bapuji gave his conclusion in brief: "If we accept for ourselves the value which people put upon us, we would be undone. Let them evaluate you as they please. You are not concerned with it. You stay on at Bombay, and it is sufficient that you give the League as promised two hours every day in the evening as an honorary worker."

This is how things stand. The letter has become rather long. But if I don't convey these things to

1. Shri Jamnadas Dwarkadas Dharamsey, Joint Secretary of the Home Rule League founded by Mrs. Annie Besant.

2. Narhari's eldest brother who was ill at the time.

3. Shri Shankarlal Banker also a promoter of the Home Rule League.

you, to whom else can I? Please return this letter to me after reading. I have reproduced in the letter Bapu's words almost verbatim. Perhaps they might be forgotten in the course of time. I have not communicated, to my father or others, my reasons for changing the previous resolution of joining the Home Rule (League). These are things which it would be folly to convey through letters. Some day I might show this letter to father and *ginny*[4].

Please let me know regularly Shankarbhai's[2] condition. I had telegraphed to Hyderabad that I could join if they paid me Rs. 300 per month. There is no reply. If I don't go to Hyderabad, I shall stay on in the bank here as long as Bapuji wishes. I shall rent a house in Bombay in a short time. I have to make my preparations from now on for joining Bapu as soon as summoned. 'Preparations' mean (of course) enhancing my worth. God grant me strength to do it. I shall begin my translation of Gokhale's speeches from tomorrow. I shall be able to do a little only in the mornings, as I have to give two hours every day in the evening to 'Home Rule'. I hope your *ginny*[4] has recovered.

Yours
Mahadev

(P. S.) I now have the faith that life, which at times I was getting tired of because I thought that it was useless, is worth living. Of course, I am not yet able to accept all those encomiums which Bapuji poured on me and made me so bashful. All I can say is that I had never obtained such a certificate before during my life and will not obtain again. Even if in future I become instrumental in doing something and receive the world's praise therefor, still these expressions of the heart will always remain the most cherished treasure of my life.

A CORRECTION

Mr. H. S. L. Polak has kindly sent the following correction:

"In the issue of the *Harijan* of June 20, there appears a small error of fact in the interview, as recorded, of Mr. Kingsley Martin with Gandhiji on January 27.

"It reads:

"Gandhiji went on to relate how he had resisted a certain millionaire in South Africa who had introduced him at a public meeting as a mere passive resister and weak because as an Indian there he was landless and without rights."

"The reference is obviously to Mr. William Hosken (see *Satyagraha in South Africa*, p. 174 *et seq.*). Mr. Hosken was not a millionaire, though a well-to-do businessman. He was President of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa, a Liberal member of the Transvaal Legislative Assembly, and a good friend of the Indian community, being Chairman of the Committee of European sympathizers with the *satyagraha* movement (*idem*, p. 278), of which I was myself the unofficial secretary."

Wardha, 26-8-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

4 Bengali abbreviation for *grihini*, that is, wife.

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

(*By M. K. Gandhi*)

III

BRAHMACHARYA OR CHASTITY

This observance does not give rise to ever so many problems and dilemmas as *ahimsa* does. Its meaning is generally well understood, but understanding it is one thing; practising it is quite another thing and calls forth all our powers. Many of us put forth a great effort but without making any progress. Some of us even lost ground previously won. None has reached perfection. But everyone realizes its supreme importance. My striving in this direction began before 1906 when I took the vow. There were many ups and downs. It was only after I had burnt my fingers at times that I realized the deeper meaning of *brahmacharya*. And then I found that expositions made in books cannot be understood without actual experience, and wear a fresh aspect in the light of it. Even in the case of a simple machine like the spinning-wheel, it is one thing to read the directions for plying it, and it is another thing to put the directions into practice. New light dawns upon us as soon as we commence our practice. And what is true of simple tangible things like the wheel is still more true of spiritual states.

A *brahmachari* is one who controls his organs of sense in thought, word and deed. The meaning of this definition became somewhat clear after I had kept the observance for some time, but it is not quite clear even now, for I do not claim to be a perfect *brahmachari*, evil thoughts having been held in restraint but not eradicated. When they are eradicated, I will discover further implications of the definition.

Ordinary *brahmacharya* is not so difficult as it is supposed to be. We have made it difficult by understanding the term in a narrow sense. Many of us play with *brahmacharya* like fools who put their hands in the fire and still expecting to escape being burnt. Very few realize that the *brahmachari* has to control not one but all the organs of sense. He is no *brahmachari* who thinks that mere control of animal passion is the be-all and end-all of *brahmacharya*. No wonder if he finds it very difficult. He who attempts to control only one organ and allows all the others free play must not expect to achieve success. He might as well deliberately descend into a well and expect to keep his body dry. Those who would achieve an easy conquest of animal passion must give up all unnecessary things which stimulate it. They must control their palate and cease to read suggestive literature and to enjoy all luxuries. I have not the shadow of a doubt that they will find *brahmacharya* easy enough after such renunciation.

Some people think that it is not a breach of *brahmacharya* to cast a lascivious look at one's own or another's wife or to touch them in the same manner; but nothing could be further from the truth. Such behaviour constitutes a direct breach of *brahmacharya* in the grosser sense of the term.

Men and women who indulge in it deceive themselves and the world, and growing weaker day by day, make themselves easily susceptible to disease. If they stop short of a full satisfaction of desire, the credit for it is due to circumstances and not to themselves. They are bound to fall at the very first opportunity.

In *brahmacharya* as conceived by the Ashram those who are married behave as if they were not married. Married people do well to renounce gratification outside the marital bond; theirs is a limited *brahmacharya*. But to look upon them as *brahmacharis* is to do violence to that glorious term.

Such is the complete Ashram definition of *brahmacharya*. Still there are men as well as women in the Ashram who enjoy considerable freedom in meeting one another. The ideal is that one Ashramite should have the same freedom in meeting another as is enjoyed by a son in meeting his mother or by a brother in meeting his sister. That is to say, the restrictions that are generally imposed for the protection of *brahmacharya* are lifted in the Satyagraha Ashram, where we believe that *brahmacharya* which ever stands in need of such adventitious support is no *brahmacharya* at all. The restrictions may be necessary at first but must wither away in time. The disappearance of restrictions does not mean that a *brahmachari* goes about seeking the company of women, but it does mean that if there is an occasion for him to minister to a woman, he may not refuse such ministry under the impression that it is forbidden to him.

Woman for a *brahmachari* is not the 'doorkeeper of hell' but is an incarnation of our Mother who is in Heaven. He is no *brahmachari* at all whose mind is disturbed if he happens to see a woman or if he has to touch her in order to render service. A *brahmachari*'s reaction to a living image and to a bronze statue is one and the same. But a man who is perturbed at the very mention of woman and who is desirous of observing *brahmacharya* must fly even from a figurine made of metal.

An Ashram where men and women thus live and work together, serve one another and try to observe *brahmacharya* is exposed to many perils. Its arrangements involve to a certain extent a deliberate imitation of life in the West. I have grave doubts about my competence to undertake such an experiment. But this applies to all my experiments. It is on account of these doubts that I do not look upon any one else as my disciple. Those who have joined the Ashram after due deliberation have joined me as co-workers, fully conscious of all the risks involved therein. As for the young boys and girls, I look upon them as my own children, and as such they are automatically drawn within the pale of my experiments. These experiments are undertaken in the name of the God of Truth. He is the Master Potter while we are mere clay in His all powerful hands.

My experience of the Ashram up to date has taught me that there is no ground for disappointment as regards the results of this pursuit of *brahmacharya* under difficulties. Men as well as women have on the whole derived benefit from it, but the greatest benefit has in my opinion accrued to women. Some of us have fallen, some have risen after sustaining a fall. The possibility of stumbling is implicit in all such experimentation. Where there is cent per cent success, it is not an experiment but a characteristic of omniscience.

(Translated from Gujarati by V. G. D.)

(To be continued)

GURJAR-NAGARI SCRIPT

Readers of the Gujarati and Nagari editions of the *Harijan* might have noticed a script reform introduced by me in the prevailing Gujarati script, in order to bring it in conformity with the Nagari script. A sample of that script is presented every week in the issues of these editions.

The difference between the Nagari and the Gujarati scripts is very slight indeed. The first difference, which strikes one's eyes even on superficial observation, is that the Nagari always carries a headline over its letters, and has straight vertical bars, while in Gujarati the letters are printed without a headline, and all vertical lines are slightly bent towards the right at the lower end. For practical purposes, it might be said that Nagari is Gujarati script over-lined (instead of being underlined as is often done in English), or that the Gujarati is Nagari with the over-line removed. This is, of course, not vital to the phonetic value of the letters.

The other difference is a little intrinsic, though not quite as much as in other Indian scripts. There are about 15 letters in Gujarati, which seem dissimilar and not easily identifiable by a person, conversant only with the Nagari script. Of these fifteen, six, namely इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, are already being adopted in Nagari in their reformed forms of अि, अी, अु, अू, अे and अै; that is, as forms manipulated from the basic letter अ. Hence there are only nine letters which present a difference between the Nagari and Gujarati scripts, and might confuse a Nagari reader.

I have given these nine letters the following altered shapes :-

Nagari : अ क च ज झ द फ ब भ
Gujarati Present Form : અ ક ચ જ ઝ દ ફ બ ભ
„ New Form : अ क च ज झ द फ ब भ

This small and simple reform makes Nagari and Gujarati scripts identical in every respect, except that one is overlined and the other is not. It presents to the press two forms of printing comparable with the Roman and Italic forms of the European script. There is an increasing tendency among modern Nagari writers to drop the headline in hand-written matter, and this script presents its printable form.

There is one letter which deserves to be mentioned : ख and ખ are respectively Nagari and Gujarati for the same sound. ख has the form of र + व, and, but for the headline, it would be difficult to distinguish between ख and रव. The

headline being absent in Gujarati, it was impracticable to do away with અ. Hence that letter has been retained. That form is not entirely peculiar to Gujarati. It also prevails in the *modi* script of Maharashtra and the *kaithi* script of Bihar, and bears some resemblance with the same letters of Bengali and Kannad. In fact it deserves to be introduced into the Nagari script, as has been done by the *Khadi Jagat* and other publications of Wardha at the instance of Shri Vinoba : (અ)

I am bound to admit that the Press and the literators of Gujarat, beyond a few exceptions, have not favoured my innovations. I have been allowed to occupy a small corner of the *Harijanbandhu* and *Harijansevak* to experiment upon this reform. Shri Vinoba has welcomed my reform and recommended that the entire *Harijanbandhu* might be printed in that script. I wish I could do it, but that is not possible.

In the course of an article contributed to the *Harijanbandhu* by Shri Vinoba on this subject, he observes :

> "Much as there is scope for reform in the prevailing Nagari script, I wish that the knowledge of Nagari, even as it is if it is wide-spread, will be beneficial to India. I wish that Nagari might be adopted as the script for provincial languages also, with necessary additions and changes for indicating the special sounds of the South Indian and other languages. But provinces are not yet prepared to go to that extent. Gujarati can easily give the lead and Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala's step in this direction deserves to be welcomed. Even as Gujarati and Nagari can be unified, so also can Telugu and Kannad. But it can be done only if the people of the two provinces choose to give up mutual jealousy.
>
> "If all India were to accept one common script, Indian languages would fall into two groups: the Northern languages and the South Indian languages. But the two together will make only a group and a half, since the script would be common. It would be so easy to learn any Indian language, if the difficult barriers presented by multiplicity of scripts were removed. We might achieve more unity through the adoption of a common script than through other external means. For all these reasons, I welcome the Gurjari-Nagari forms."

I have made my contribution. Indeed, it is before the Gujarati public for more than twelve years now. It is for the reader, the Press, the man of letters and the Education Department of the Bombay Province to make use of or reject my effort.

New Delhi, 11-8-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

Correction

In the *Harijan* dated 15th August, 1948 in the article by Shri J. C. Kumarappa at page 206 (*The Modern Debtor*) the income of Great Britain is mentioned to be £ 800 millions a year. It ought to read 8,000 millions. — ED.

MOHAMMED WAS WISE

The nation is anxious to pay its homage to Gandhiji in every manner possible. The Government too does not wish to lag behind. It decided recently to issue special Gandhi Postage Stamps to commemorate the first anniversary of Indian Independence. Postage stamps are, of course, meant to be affixed on letters, and destined to be cancelled in the Post Office with a Postal mark. And that has irritated another devotee of Gandhiji, who cannot bear Gandhiji's portrait being disfigured with that ugly lamp-black seal.

So what Pandit Jawaharlal's Government carefully planned out of devotion has become a cause of distress to another devotee! The reason is clear. There is idol worship in the minds of both. And while one perceives only the instalation of the idol, the other perceives only its defacement! Mohammed-saheb was wise in forbidding representations of animal and human figures in every form or shape.

Let us not look upon every representation of Gandhiji as if it was *Thakur* (family deity). Otherwise, we shall make ourselves an impossible people to deal with.

Wardha, 23-8-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

THE PROBLEM OF PROVINCIAL REDISTRIBUTION

After the attainment of political freedom the Congress is committed to the redistribution of Indian provinces on a linguistic basis. The activities of the Congress organization have also been conducted all these years on the same basis. But, unfortunately, the question of provincial redistribution does not appear to be handled in a proper way and, consequently, there is anger, confusion and indecision in the minds of Congressmen as well as the public in general. Some Congress leaders are all for the rearrangement of provinces on a linguistic basis and are actively working to this end in their respective spheres. A few others are vehemently opposed to the formation of provinces on the basis of language and prophesy that 'provincialism' would lead to the disintegration of the Indian Union. There are yet other Congress leaders who plead for the postponement of the issue for five or ten years, because they think that there are other more important problems demanding immediate solution. They, however, seem to have committed themselves to the creation of a separate Andhra Province perhaps to silence the bitter agitation that has been going on there for many years. But this might mean only an invitation to other linguistic areas for making themselves as unpleasant and vociferous as Andhra in order to secure separation.

I should, therefore, be excused for stating that the question of provincial redistribution is yet in a mess and we expect our leaders to attach adequate importance and devote serious attention to the problem. A policy of 'drift' will not do. Its consequences might be extremely dangerous and detrimental to national solidarity. The national Government, despite other pressing problems, has

been successful in solving the tangle of the Indian States very creditably. I earnestly feel that our leaders should try to tackle the problem of provinces with the same insight and wisdom. It must be realized that this question is not, in any way, less important than that of the States; hence, it should be faced boldly and realistically. If the Congress Working Committee, after discussing the whole problem threadbare, feels that the principle of linguistic redistribution requires revision, it should issue a comprehensive statement and invite the All India Congress Committee to give its final decision. If, however, the leaders are well convinced of the soundness of linguistic provinces, they should try to implement the Congress promise as early as possible. Undue delay in doing a good thing may be unnecessarily fraught with evil consequences. The appointment of a Commission by the President of the Constituent Assembly for this purpose is certainly welcome. But unless the Congress leaders review the whole matter carefully among themselves and give a clear-cut and well-reasoned lead to the country, the Commission might not be able to make much headway. In the absence of a definite policy, there will naturally be a plethora of suggestions before the Commission and the reactionary forces of separatism may, in course of time, gain the upper hand.

Personally I see nothing fundamentally wrong in the principle of linguistic provinces. Such an arrangement would be very convenient in using an Indian language for administrative and judicial purposes; the introduction of the mother-tongue as medium of instruction will also be very easy. But it is utterly wrong to talk of separate 'cultures' in advocating linguistic provinces, and it is regrettable that, of late, several responsible provincial leaders have mixed much fury and hatred in their agitation for separate linguistic areas. They have talked of *satyagraha* and even the shedding of blood. If this new myth of 'linguism' is allowed to gain momentum, our future is bound to be full of peril and disaster. But if the question of linguistic rearrangement is viewed purely as a matter of convenience, no harm need be done to the solidarity and essential cultural unity of our nation.

I have, however, to suggest a middle way. In order to eschew the dangers of narrow 'linguism', we might have linguistic sub-provinces within the existing multi-lingual provinces. For example, in the Central Provinces and Berar, there may be created two sub-provinces of Maha-vidarbha and Maha-koshal — although I do not like these high sounding names — with separate legislatures and ministries administering specified sub-provincial subjects like Law and Order, Revenue, Education, Health, Excise and Agriculture. But there should also be a small legislature for the whole province elected directly from the two sub-provincial Legislative Assemblies. The Provincial Legislature should legislate only for a few provincial subjects like economic planning, communications and higher technical education; its proceedings should be conducted in the national language. The ministers of both the sub-provinces should be responsible to the Provincial Assembly. There may be a common High Court and Public Services Commission for the whole province. Similarly, in the Bombay Presidency there can be three sub-provincial Legislative Assemblies for Karnatak, Maharashtra and Gujarat with Bombay as the seat of the provincial Government. The Madras Presidency can follow the same pattern. The advantage in having such a provincial organization would be that while sub-provincial units will be linguistically homogeneous from the standpoint of convenience, the growth of unhealthy and exclusive 'linguism' would be automatically checked a good deal. Further, it will not be necessary to redraw provincial boundaries in most cases: the existing ones would serve our purpose. This plan of linguistic sub-provinces will also be consistent with the principle of decentralization of political power. The financial implications of such a scheme need not be prohibitive; the total number of ministers in the sub-provinces should be almost the same as that for the whole province today. If we could have honorary Governors — and this should not be difficult now when there are so many pensioner Maharajas — the present provincial revenues will be adequate to maintain two or three sub-provinces without additional burden on the tax-payer.

I do not claim that the scheme outlined above is the best method of provincial redistribution under the existing circumstances. Nevertheless, I expect that it would receive due consideration at the hands of all those who are interested in the satisfactory solution of this intricate problem.

S. N. AGARWAL

[I endorse Principal Agarwal's suggestion that the Congress Working Committee should reconsider the theory of linguistic provinces and give a revised lead on the matter and invite the All India Congress Committee to give its final decision. The Karachi resolution was passed at a stage when the circumstances were different and all those forces which have developed since were not present.

Principal Agarwal is not the only one to raise the plea for revision of the old policy. Shri Manu Subedar also in a series of articles has been earnestly pressing the same point. He has urged and I think very rightly that economic burden on the tax-payer will increase considerably by the creation of several new States. As it is, our present Indianized governments are showing no tendency towards reduction of high standards of top-heavy expenditure set by our British rulers. More provinces will need more seats of government, secretariats, High Courts, Houses of Legislature and all that paraphernalia which go to make an administration top-heavy. Shri Manu Subedar, therefore, wants even the present provinces to be scrapped and in its place divide the country in suitable divisions under Chief Commissioners and have them governed directly through the Central Government.

It will be remembered that another correspondent who had contributed in the *Harijan* on this subject some months ago went even a step further by suggesting that the unit of administration should be a district directly ruled by the Central Government.

Principal Agarwal suggests sub-provinces under multi-linguistic States with separate legislatures and ministries for particular subjects. He considers this to be a middle way. I am not sure that this will be economical or accepted as a final arrangement. It might provide just a fulcrum for an agitation for complete separation later on.

I also had ventured to suggest a scheme of mine two or three years ago in a small pamphlet. But I do not think it will serve any useful purpose in burdening the reader with its details at this stage.

The whole controversy shows that our minds are not yet clear regarding the limits of centralization and decentralization respectively and the exact importance of linguistic differences for purposes of administration and for the development of the people. Every one has a pet idea of his own and every one wants it to be accepted by all. It is, therefore, high time that the Congress High Command should step in and give a considered lead to the country.

Wardha, 25-8-'48 -K. G. M.]

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF MAN —A RAPID SURVEY

The economic activity of man began with finding food and shelter for himself. First he obtained what he needed from the ready stock available in nature by fishing, hunting and gathering what he could.

But as soon as civilization developed he began to co-operate with nature in obtaining his needs by controlled methods which would suit his convenience and conditions. It is at this stage of civilization that we find agricultural people procuring their wants by working along with nature. Man studies the vagaries of weather, rain and sunshine and with a knowledge of prevailing soil conditions adopts his methods to suit these environments. Here it is that we should look for science following the growth, the knowledge and observations of the tiller.

Applying the knowledge so obtained at this stage man has used his intelligence to convert the products secured from nature into useful articles for himself. This third stage has led to growth of industries from the agricultural stage. Generally speaking the industrial stage is one in which the worker is able to gather a larger share of the fruits of his labour for his own use. This has been so because these industries are situated in towns and cities where the general level of education and consciousness of their rights is fast growing. But the people on the land have not the organization nor the self-interest developed to such an extent as to enable them to retain the benefits of all their labour for their own use. The result is the state of affairs where it is said that agriculture does not pay. This state of affairs has no relation to the nature of agriculture itself. Agriculture being more or less the source of all wealth it stands to reason that the agriculturist must control the share of wealth every man receives if the products of agriculture were properly exchanged and distributed, and he himself should be well off.

Up to now, however, under the conditions prevailing, there is hardly any country where the agriculturist can be said to have received his due share. This is much more so in our own land, steeped in ignorance and poverty. The agriculturist has been generally the base on which the whole economic structure has been built up and he has had to bear the brunt of the battle without a share in the booty.

In most countries labour conditions in industries have gone far ahead of conditions on the land. It is to the credit of the Congress that it is now turning its attention towards the conditions of life of the tillers of the soil. The Governments, till now, have mainly been concerned with obtaining from the tiller revenue for themselves, but they have done nothing to alleviate his conditions or to protect him from those who are stealing the results of his labour. That having been the approach of the Government hitherto, it appointed middlemen to collect its dues from the farmers. These intermediaries grew in status, influence and power and became ultimately under the foreign administration, the powerful class of zamindars. The Congress Government has taken courage and has made up its mind to abolish all these middlemen between the tiller and the State.

Having abolished this middleman, it is now concerned with finding out ways and means of retaining to the tiller the benefits of his labour. These devices take many forms; firstly, his own control and legal rights of holding the piece of land on which he works. The tenures in our land differ from province to province and even from locality to locality. We have to evolve more or less a uniform system for the whole country, taking into consideration the needs of the people. This is the duty detailed out to the Agrarian Reforms Committee that is now touring the country to obtain information in regard to the types of reforms that may have to be instituted after the abolition of zamindari.

The rightful dues of the farmer are taken away from him by various means. One of it is in the form of rights to the ownership or occupancy of the land by middlemen stepping in. They charge rent which takes a big slice out of the resulting benefits from the producer's toil.

Then the second method has been the mechanism of prices and money. By this, distant places have attracted the produce of the farmers and have given him in exchange an inadequate return in the form of low prices which in their turn were fixed by produce exchanges beyond the knowledge of the producers, e. g. markets at Liverpool and Chicago fixing prices for the Indian produce.

There is no relation between the farmer's wants, his costs and price. Naturally, under such conditions, an undue share of the produce can be drawn out by trading on the financial ignorance of our farmers. The farmer in India is in the position of a child which is made to part with a silver cup in exchange for a noisy rattle and this has been made possible by the extension of the money economy and the provision of transport 'facilities', which are often applauded as being great achievements in the development of the land. In fact, they have been the needles of the syringe with which the life blood of the rural population has been drawn out. This matter needs careful handling to bring the money and price mechanism to function reasonably within their legitimate spheres. For instance, in places there are tanks which produce a good quantity of fish. But the Government, in its anxiety to facilitate its administrative organization of collecting revenue, has given out these tanks by auction to contractors who sell these fish in distant towns where they can get much higher prices. To this end transport and cold storage arrangements are also furnished by the Government. In fact, what has been done is to take away the rightful food of the population from amongst their midst and to send it away to distant towns for the benefit of the middlemen and non-producers. This is an injustice of a criminal nature. Similarly, their supply of milk and other articles of prime necessities have been taken away from the rural people before supplying their legitimate needs and placed them in the hands of non-producers to be marketed in distant places. What we have to do, therefore, is to ensure that the produce of the local population is conserved for their own needs and give their requirements first priority and then plan on producing the surplus which can be supplied to town and city populations. This has to be a proved surplus, after providing the adequate demands of the producers themselves. Money economy should not be allowed to interfere unduly in the distribution of commodities amongst the various sections of society.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

DELHI DIARY

[Prayer speeches from 10-9-'47 to 30-1-'48]

As the explanation of the title indicates in this Diary are collected the prayer speeches delivered by Gandhiji to his prayer audiences during his last stay in Delhi.

Gandhiji himself has said in one of these prayer speeches that "*they were to be regarded and listened to as an integral part of the prayer*". These speeches reveal the travail the Father of the Nation went through when the new State was born.

With a foreword by Babu Rajendraprasad

Price *Rs. Three* Postage etc. *As. Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

A CO-EDITOR'S COMMENTS

[The Editor of the *Harijan Patrika* (Bengali edition of the *Harijan*) has added a note to my article entitled *Amends* (8th August, 1948), which it is fair to reproduce in English. The following is a translation of the note. — K. G. M.]

It is sad to find that the question of the Manbhum area is causing friction between Bengal and Bihar. Gandhiji said in sorrow: "Every one thinks of himself and his family. No one thinks of the whole of India." There may be a dispute of interest between two provinces which may naturally arise. Such differences would do no harm provided the interest of India as a whole is kept in view by both sides. Then a way based on truth would also be found to resolve the difference. Shri Badrinath Varma's article has stimulated thoughts expressed below specially in view of the readers who are Bengalis.

On discovering that the circular on the basis of which Shri Kishorlal wrote the article *Unclean Means* appeared to be a hoax, he has apologized and tried to make amends for the mischief resulting from his article. He has also said relating to his correspondent who sent him the circular, "the friend from whom I received it is incapable of practising fraud upon me. I am afraid that he too has been deceived in the matter by those who supplied him with it and led into hasty steps."

On the other side what has been said by the *Mukti*, the organ of the Manbhum workers in its issue of 26th July, 1948 relating to this circular is quoted below in part for the information of readers:

> "He (Shri Kishorlal) has said that the programme has been drawn up by the Bihar Government. Although the circular is in conformity with the direction and line of action of the Bihar Government, it has been composed by the local representatives of the Bihar Government. From a purely legal point of view objection may be taken to its being called a Government circular but in effect it is the work of the Bihar Government. Shri Mashruwala's statement about authorship of the proposals may be questioned from the superficial view of formal accuracy but from the spirit of truth it is quite correct."

These workers of Manbhum are followers and colleagues of the late *Rishi* Nibaran Chandra Dasgupta. In discussing the circular it is necessary to be acquainted with the views of these workers as well as those of Minister Shri Varma, for honoured workers and honourable ministers deserve equal attention from the people.

Hence though the Bihar Education Minister has said that the circular is not a Government circular, the question whether the Government is indirectly responsible for it remains open.

In praise of the Bihar Government Officers Shri Varma has said, "nor any of their officers are associated with any activity which can even remotely be described as 'unclean'." Such unqualified eulogy of his departmental officers from a minister is only an exhibition of his extreme softness for the bureaucracy. But a certificate of merit

in their favour from the minister does not prove that the others are inferior men. Shri Varma has questioned the authenticity of the circular and castigated the Bengalis of Manbhum about it. But the doubts about the doubtful authenticity persists in the public mind. For the *Mukti* is a journal which commands popular esteem.

In reference to the dissemination of Hindi in Manbhum Shri Varma says, "The medium in the primary stage will be the mother tongue, then in the upper primary stage a little Hindi will be introduced, in the middle stage however the medium will be changed into Hindi." The question is, what language will the tribal people — the Santals, the Mundas, the Hos, the Oraons etc. — accept in the middle stage as the medium of instruction — Hindi or Bengali? Referring to the claim of Bengali in the Manbhum area Shri Kishorlal states in course of his article *Unclean Means* in the *Harijan* of 11th July, 1948:

> "It is commendable that Bihar has adopted a single language — Hindi for its province, even though it is not, so far as I am aware, the mother tongue in any part of Bihar. It has thereby saved itself from a quarrel over languages, of which there was every possibility if every local region of that great province had put forth the claim of its particular dialect. But the question of Bengali stands on a different footing from that of the various dialects of Bihar. These dialects have not developed into or claimed to be literary languages as Bengali is. The latter language is spoken and written by millions in the neighbouring province which is greater than Bihar itself. It is a rich language to which Hindi itself owes much for its own present status. There should therefore be no desire to suppress the Bengali language to the extent it has come to stay in particular areas of Bihar in the natural or historical course of events."

What Shri Kishorlal says here relating to the claims of the Bengali language is untouched by the disputed circular and can not be affected by it. Hindi is not the mother tongue in many areas in Bihar. There are many other local languages there but Bihar has saved itself from linguistic quarrels by accepting Hindi. Similarly, the areas comprising Manbhum, Dhalbhum etc. have been saving themselves by their adoption of the Bengali language during the last two or three centuries. This is the process which Shri Kishorlal has described as natural historical development and has therefore decried the efforts for suppressing this naturally prevalent Bengali language.

Shri Varma has said that not less than 70 to 80% of the people of this area speaks Hindi or mainly Santali and that Bengali has been imposed upon them in the past. But the series of census reports reveal that in Manbhum the mother tongue of 70% of the people is Bengali. These periodical censuses are evidence of one aspect of the historical perspective mentioned by Shri Kishorlal. Readers would readily see that minister Shri Varma's statement forms no part of this historical sequence. Shri Varma has referred to some Bengalis in Manbhum as 'settlers from outside'. It is good of him not to call all of them outsiders. And pray who are these outsiders? The late Nibaran Chandra Dasgupta came from Dacca and settled in Manbhum where he and his colleagues have attempted *gramseva* in the rural areas there. Shri Varma has surely not meant to call these workers outsiders!

To sum up, the controversy about Manbhum should cease. Shri Kishorlal has pointed the way to a solution which lies in a true appreciation of the historical situation. For this purpose ministerial statements, bureaucratic high-handedness, plebiscite, caustic newspaper comments and publicity — any of these approaches to the problem or even their combined contribution will not help in its solution. These will only add to disunity and friction.

Not those who think of their own interest in preference to the interest of India but only some learned impartial servants of the people who can recognize the historical perspective, whose only concern is the good of India can sit together and find a solution to this situation; Shri Kishorlal has clearly indicated this at the close of his article *Amends*.

Shri Varma is a Congress minister. As such his view that Hindi 'is likely to be accepted as the State language by the Centre' had better remained unsaid.

NOTICE

Lovers of Gandhian literature and the *Harijan* papers who are inhabitants of the Madhya Bharat Province will be pleased to learn that we have been able to establish a branch of the Navajivan Karyalaya at Indore. All the *Harijan* papers, viz., the *Harijan* (English), the *Harijansevak* (Nagari), the *Harijansevak* (Urdu) and the *Harijanbandhu* (Gujarati) as also all the publications of the Navajivan Publishing House will be available at the branch whose full address is:

Navajivan Karyalaya (Branch)
5, Gandhibhavan
Yashvant Road, Indore.

MANAGER

CONTENTS

		PAGE
MAKING SWARAJ SUCCESSFUL	... VINOBA	225
VANASPATI AND OIL	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	226
THE ROMANCE OF CO-OPERATION	... R. S.	227
GANDHIJI'S BIRTHDAY	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	228
SHRI BHANSALI'S FAST BROKEN	... K. G. M.	228
GANDHIJI'S EVALUATION OF MAHADEV DESAI	...	229
A CORRECTION	... K. G. M.	230
ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION - III	... M. K. GANDHI	230
GURJAR-NAGARI SCRIPT	... K. G MASHRUWALA	231
MOHAMMED WAS WISE	... K. G. M.	232
THE PROBLEM OF PROVINCIAL REDISTRIBUTION	... S. N. AGARWAL	232
ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF MAN — A RAPID SURVEY	... J. C. KUMARAPPA	234
A CO-EDITOR'S COMMENTS	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	235
INDEX	...	236-A

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.
Subscription Rates — INLAND: One year, Rs. 6: Six months, Rs. 3: FOREIGN: One year, Rs. 8 or 14 sh. or $. 3.